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- ART. VII. — 1. *General Orders of the Freedmen's Bureau.* Nos. 1–11. Washington. 1865.
2. *First, Second, and Third Annual Reports of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society (Educational Commission).* Boston. 1863, 1864, 1865.
3. *Freedmen's Record.* A Monthly Journal, published by the same Society. 1865.
4. *First, Second, and Third Annual Reports of the National Freedmen's Relief Association.* New York. 1863, 1864, 1865.
5. *The National Freedman.* A Monthly Journal of the same Society. 1865.
6. *Annual Report of the Western Freedmen's Association.* Cincinnati. August, 1865.
7. *Pennsylvania Freedmen's Bulletin.* A Monthly Journal, published by the Pennsylvania Freedmen's Association. 1865.
8. *Chicago Freedmen's Bulletin.* A Monthly Journal, published by the Northwestern Freedmen's Aid Commission.
9. *Reports of the Superintendents of Freedmen for Eastern Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, and of the Board of Education for Freedmen, Department of the Gulf.* 1864, 1865.

JOHN ADAMS'S axiom, that civil society must be built up on the four corner-stones of the church, the school-house, the militia, and the town-meeting, receives new illustration, of the most distinct kind, as we work out the great problem of to-day. Whichever panacea is presented to us in the great work of the admission of the four million negroes into our civil society, and the establishment of their social rights, fails to pass test till we have so extended the proposed arrangements that, in its work of blessing, all four of the essential rights of religion, education, self-defence, and self-government are provided for. Thus, it is of little use to give the negro a vote, unless he can read it; nor, if he can read it, unless he can defend himself from being shot down like a dog as he offers it; while, again, voting and defence both suppose a conscience fitly trained for their right exercise.

Or, if we begin at the other end, as was the old fashion of the Southern sentimentalists, and teach our negro to sing hymns of glory and to pray in unintelligible rhapsodies, — claiming indeed, as was often done, that he had the start of the rest of us in the affairs of the future world, — if thus sedulously we contrive his church for him, it proves wholly unfit to train him for his relations to this world, unless he have the wit to read, the arms to fight, and the right to vote. In all our experiments thus far, it has proved in vain to work at one of the four corners of our structure, unless, under the same impulse, we kept at work on the other three.

We shall not be able, therefore, to give any history or general statement regarding the progress made in the intellectual education of the blacks, without constant reference to the contemporaneous work on the other parts of the one great enterprise in hand. In the exertions so steadfastly pressed since the beginning of 1862, by the Northern friends of the slaves, the indissoluble connection of all their social privileges has never been forgotten. The Freedmen's Aid Societies have never been in the hands of people who supposed that they were going to save this nation or redeem an eighth part of its people from barbarism by primers and spelling-books. The instructions given to their agents in the field, and the diligent work of those agents, have been founded on the understanding that their work was the construction of civil society on a true basis; that there was no magic in books or slates, in reading or arithmetic, by which alone a race not fit for civil government could be made fit. The "teachers" have been taught, and have understood, that the work of education proposed was the education of savages into self-governing men; that books and alphabets and figures were of use so far as they tended to this aim; but that they were to keep this aim in sight all along, and in no way to make the means appear of more importance than the great object. In the first instructions given to Messrs. Rich and Boynton, the first teachers sent out by the New England Commission — the first of the societies in the field — to Hilton Head, this object was distinctly explained; and in all the work of the several societies, of which there are now six of considerable importance, besides several smaller local organizations, the end of the whole work has been kept in sight all along.

The efforts of the various organizations, which, in this spirit, have attempted the education of the freedmen, began in the spring of 1862, on a suggestion made by Mr. Edward L. Pierce, then engaged as a special Treasury agent at the Sea Islands, which had been restored to the nation by the brilliant naval operations of Admirals Dupont and Davis. Mr. Pierce saw the necessity for some system of education for the negroes, who had been deserted by their masters there; and, in response to a suggestion made by him, the "Educational Commission" was formed in the city of Boston. The name was unfortunate, first, because there is properly no such word as "educational" in the language; second, because nobody but the members of the society had given it any "commission." The name "Freedmen's Aid Society," which this organization afterwards took and now bears, is much more appropriate. Other societies, with the same general object, sprang into being, one in New York, one in Pennsylvania, one in Cincinnati, one in Chicago, one in Baltimore, and one in Indiana being, perhaps, among the most prominent. The American Missionary Society, an organization in existence many years before the war, founded for the purpose of pressing Christian instruction everywhere, with special reference, however, to the emancipation of the slave, had from the first availed itself of the opportunities which the war offered. Various confederations or unions between these societies have been formed, for the purpose of avoiding inconvenient rivalry in the canvassing for funds; and it is to the great credit of their teachers and other agents engaged in the active work proposed, that, with some unfortunate exceptions, there has been in general a very cordial feeling among them, and that no considerable inconvenience has been experienced from their being commissioned by so many different authorities. The United States government has, from the beginning, extended, at the hands of its officers, very hearty assistance in the enterprise in hand. The teachers, till the present time, have generally received transportation, quarters, and rations from the government. The military commanders have generally appointed Superintendents of Education, to whom all the teachers in a district have been obliged to report; so that a little approach has been made to statistical information regarding the

results. In the establishment by act of Congress of the Freedmen's Bureau at Washington, and the admirable appointment at its head of General Howard, a grèat step has been taken, one of the results of which will be yet more of system in the arrangements governing the schools.

In the State of Louisiana, under General Banks's much abused, but really humane and intelligent arrangements, the military government assessed a school tax and established a system of education for the State. The Board of Education established under this order went steadily to work, and extended its operations with the extension of national domain in Louisiana. So steady and comprehensive was its work, and so well sustained by the authorities, that the State of Louisiana, in the number of schools and in the number of scholars, has been, and probably still is, in advance of all the States lately in rebellion. It is to be hoped that no changes of administration may make any material change in a system which has thus far worked so well.

From the various reports made by order of the several organizations named, we can make some approach to a statement of the number of schools for blacks, of teachers engaged, and of pupils, all under the protection of the nation, in the several Southern States, during the winter past. The figures in the following table comprise statements on official authority, nearly complete for the States named, at periods near the closing of the schools at the beginning of the last summer: —

		No. of Schools.	No. of Teachers.	No. of Scholars.
VIRGINIA,	{ Alexandria . . .	2	4	289
	{ Richmond . . .	6		1,500
	{ Eastern Virginia . .		74	3,224
NORTH CAROLINA	. . .	19	36	3,000
SOUTH CAROLINA,	{ Charleston . . .	9	90	3,996
	{ Sea Islands		65	8,471
FLORIDA, Fernandina	. . .	33	11	471
MISSISSIPPI . . .	. . .	31	50	3,396
TENNESSEE [WESTERN]	. . .		56	4,095
ARKANSAS . . .	. . .	10	19	1,393
LOUISIANA,	{ Board of Education	121	216	13,462
	{ Vidalia and De Soto	5	6	646
		<hr/> 236	<hr/> 627	<hr/> 43,943

We do not include in this table any of the enterprises attempted in Maryland, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, or Missouri. Our immediate purpose is to show the present state of education in the States which were in rebellion.

Some beginnings have been made in Savannah and in Mobile, not mentioned above. We have no adequate returns of work in East Tennessee. In North Alabama there are two schools, with 449 scholars. We do not know that any of the societies have yet established schools in Texas.

These statements, incomplete though they are, are enough to show that a beginning has been made in this great enterprise, quite sufficient to be a basis for calculation and other inference as to its methods and success. It is only on the very edges or frontiers of these States that it has been possible to make this beginning. It has been made without the slightest assistance from the old governing class. It has been enthusiastically welcomed by the freedmen; it has been prosecuted by the vigor and faith of their Northern friends. Under such auspices more than forty-four thousand children and young persons were under instruction when the vacations came last summer. In these returns we make no enumeration of the evening schools for adults, or the regimental schools for soldiers, in which, probably, half as many more persons were under instruction of very considerable value. The schools which we do enumerate are regular daily schools, kept by competent teachers, with an established system of classification and registry, admitting of a distinct knowledge of the studies attempted and the progress made.

The first, and perhaps the most important observation to be made regarding this table is, that, with all the difficulties in the way of the enterprise, so much has been accomplished in so short a time. The number of slaves in the States named was, in 1860, rather less than two millions. Now the highest registry or census of children from four to sixteen years of age, made in those of our New England States which have pressed school attendance most firmly, is but one quarter of the population. If, then, the black population of these eight States named above were as large now as it was in 1860,—and this is doubtful,—they could, at the utmost, offer only

500,000 children between four and sixteen years of age for school instruction. That there are under instruction more than forty-four thousand children, besides those who are in the night schools, is a very encouraging result. It is nearly a tenth part of the work already established for those States, under circumstances the most difficult and depressing. It is a result which shows what reliance may be placed on the spirit of the freedmen and the courage of the North for the work, about twenty times as extensive, which is required to supply properly with schools the whole region lately in rebellion. For eight States one tenth of the work is already in operation. In Georgia, Alabama, and Texas, most of it is still to be set going. But nowhere are there any obstacles, if the present condition of things continues, to hinder its very rapid development, — as rapid, indeed, as the determination of the North shall demand.

The second point of special interest is the enthusiastic readiness of the freedmen to learn. In the first occupancy of the Sea Islands, there was many a man found, ignorant enough, or timid enough, or politic enough, to say he did not know whether he wanted to be free. Freedom was an abstract word, and the abstract idea had not often been made concrete for the black race. But men, women, and children knew that there was power in letters. They had seen the magic of a scrap of writing sent from a master to an overseer, and they were eager to share such power if there were any chance. No one, therefore, ever said that he did not wish to read. Had the teachers sent from the North no use to make of the alphabet but as a talisman to win the confidence of a people whom the army was not using well, and whom their old masters had used so ill, for that use only would the machinery of the schools have been invaluable.

As to the ease with which the blacks learn, no observations have been more accurate than those made on the Sea Islands, among a race somewhat inferior, whose insular position had been, on the whole, a disadvantage to them. Of the results there, we spoke at length in our last issue; and what we said of them will apply, with fit changes, to the observations made in other quarters. It must be remembered that very diverse original races are represented among the slaves. In Southern

Alabama and Mississippi will be found, we might almost say, tribes, with whom the traditions of Africa are fresh,—individuals whose memories run back to days of freedom there. In the small plantations of Tennessee, on the other hand, will be found men who have associated much more freely with whites, men used to act very much on their individual responsibility, many of whom will prove a fair match in shrewdness for any Scot or any Yankee. The house servant of Savannah, of Charleston, of Richmond, or of New Orleans has had, of course, wholly different training from either of these classes. The negro of the turpentine region of North Carolina proves to be different again. No general inferences, therefore, are to be received with very great confidence.

But it may be asserted, certainly, that the younger scholars, at the first, attack the problems of learning with a sort of zeal which brings them fully up to white children of their age. Enthusiastic teachers—and all new teachers of blacks thus far are enthusiastic—invariably say the black children go in advance of the white. After this beginning, as we infer from the great body of the reports, the result depends so largely upon the teacher, that we have as yet no very certain estimate as to the reliance to be placed on the native disposition of the scholar. A really good teacher will keep his school in hand, and keep it up to the work, and makes no complaint of difficulties of race. The difficulties are more apt to be those of the competition of other employments, and the unsettled condition of most of the slaves themselves.

On this point of the fitness of the race for school education, the testimony of the late Miss Myrtilla Miner, the pioneer in the whole business of the higher instruction of the blacks, seems to us of more value than any of the reports thus far obtained from the new schools. For many years Miss Miner kept a normal school in Washington, for the purpose of training black girls to be the teachers of their race. For many years before, she had kept a school for the training of white girls. This remarkable woman always insisted that no general conclusions could be drawn as to the superior ability of the one race or the other in such rudimentary studies as are followed in schools. One girl succeeded in one thing, one in another.

She was not fond of any of the popular generalizations about the blacks being an imitative race, or fond of music, or having tropical tastes. She insisted that, whatever were the native disposition, the surroundings of childhood were of much more import; and on the whole, she was as ready to make good teachers out of black girls as out of white,—no more, no less,—if the home influences were the same.

This fact may be relied upon, as appearing in reams of correspondence from teachers, that the blacks will learn fast enough under the stimulus which is now applied, if the fair chance to learn can be given.

All intelligent teachers among them, and all the boards of management, know that the occasional reports of transient visitors at the schools cannot be relied upon. People know what they see, but do not rightly estimate its relation to the mass of ignorance behind. Rev. Mr. Zachos, himself a teacher among the Sea Island negroes, who combined philosophical judgment with enthusiasm, has said very pertinently, that a visitor seeing a school full of children reading from a primer with a certain degree of accuracy and intelligence is enraptured with the idea that these children have learned to read, while in truth they have only learned to know by sight the words in that primer. Most of us have forgotten it, but this is the way most of us learned to read in childhood. We have learned by stress of memory, in a long pull at various dame schools, how several thousand words look when we see them. When we read, we rely on recollection of their appearance. We do not, except in rare instances, analyze the word into its constituent letters. We know the look of the word “analyze,” and the look of the word “letters.” Now it is no very hard task to teach children newly roused to the business the looks of two or three hundred words in a primer. It can be done in a fortnight or less; and those children will read with great effect the easy lessons at the end of that primer. But they will, as yet, have made but little advance towards reading the newspaper or the Bible, in which are six thousand words. To make more easy the process of reading by the letters, so that, when these are once mastered, the pupil may analyze his words or combine his letters far more readily than he now does,

Mr. Zachos has set on foot that system of primers which has met such immediate approval among the highest authorities, and which, as we believe, is destined to relieve very greatly the labors of freedmen and their teachers.

The readiness with which the freedmen themselves engage in the efforts which are made for their education, relieves the problem as to the method of carrying it forward in the future of many of its embarrassments. They see intuitively, as well as we see, that for them knowledge is power, and that much of this knowledge must be book knowledge. Whether the suffrage is or is not limited to those who can read and write, it is just as clear that the black man who has those arts is the superior of the clay-eating white who cannot. And this is as clear to the black man as it is to his old master. It is to be observed then, first, that wherever they have been permitted, the free blacks, under the old *régime*, have not been backward in arranging for the schooling of their children. The plans of Miss Miner, of whom we have spoken, were based upon the certainty that there were nearly one hundred thousand free blacks in the District of Columbia and the adjacent States who would gladly send their children to school, if schools could be maintained. With this view, she established her normal school at Washington, to which this class of people did send their daughters to fit them to be the teachers of their own race. They paid the charges of instruction, and the school was always full. But such schools were maintained with the greatest difficulty in the condition of public opinion at the South. In Louisiana the statement of the new Board of Education is this:—

“The children of the free colored people who were in good circumstances, known as Creoles, generally of French or Spanish extraction, when not educated abroad or at the North, or, from fairness of complexion, by occasional admission to the white schools, were quietly instructed at home, or in a very few private schools of their class. Even these, although not contrary to law (in Louisiana), were really under the ban of opinion, but were tolerated because of the freedom, wealth, respectability, and light color of the parents,—many of whom were nearly white, and by blood, sympathy, association, slaveholding, and other interests, were allied to the white rather than to the black. For the poor of the free colored people there was no school.

"To teach a slave the dangerous arts of reading and writing was a heinous offence, having, in the language of the statute, 'a tendency to excite insubordination among the servile class,' and punishable by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than twenty-one years, *or by death*, at the discretion of the court."

In face of such a statute, Mrs. Mary D. Brice of Ohio came to New Orleans as early as December, 1858, "under a sense of duty, to teach colored people." She was not able to open her school until September, 1860, when she opened it for "colored children and adults." The outcry of June, 1861, when the Southern heart was well fired, compelled her to close it then; but in November, 1861, having received a Divine intimation that she should be sustained, she re-opened it, and subsequently enlarged it. This school continued to thrive through the whole *régime* of the Confederacy, and is now under the charge of the Board of Education. With the arrival of the Federal army, the increased confidence among the blacks themselves showed itself at once in their establishing private schools in New Orleans for the education of those of their children whose parents could pay for their instruction.

We enter into these details, to show the readiness of the free blacks, wherever there has been an opportunity in Slave States to strengthen themselves and their position by the education of their children. We have spoken of the enthusiasm with which the newly emancipated slaves have welcomed their teachers. In some instances the welcome has not been restricted to words. The school at Mitchellville in South Carolina was established in response to the call of Lynas Andus, a black man who had served in the army in Florida, and chose to use his bounty money and wages in building a church and providing for a school in the village which he had selected for his home. It must be understood, through all our observations on the subject, that we have no reports or statistics as to the free schools established in Washington, Alexandria, or New Orleans by those who were ranked as "free blacks," before the war, as "pay-schools," for their own children. Several of these schools are still in operation. But our subject is the education of the blacks now set free by the operation of the war.

The unwavering and increasing interest taken by the negroes

in the schools for their children, and the heartiness with which adults themselves repair to the evening schools opened for them at almost all the stations, are a warrant that, as their *status* shall be more and more definitely secured, the expense of the maintenance of such schools may be left very largely to them. Eventually, as we must believe, now that these States are to be republics, as they never have been, they will provide for the school-training of all races at the public expense, as, under General Banks's order, is now done in Louisiana. But while waiting for the successive steps which shall bring about this result, we may expect the people whom we educate to tax themselves cordially to bear a part or the whole of the expense of their education. For two or three years the charge of the schools may fall on the benevolence of the North and on the general government, — the cost of a year of schooling for all the blacks being, as has been well said, not so much as the cost of three days of war. But the policy of the Freedmen's Aid Societies has not been to make these people beggars. "*Aide-toi et Dieu t'aidera*," is their motto. The black people know they must support themselves, as they always have done. Except in the cases of immediate suffering, when a herd of refugees rushes into a station, they are taught to earn and pay for their clothes, their seeds, their hoes, and their horses. They know that they must build and repair their churches. They look forward to the time when they shall build and repair their school-houses and bear the general charges of instruction. That time, according to the best observers, is not distant more than two or three years. This is so evident in the district of Tennessee and Arkansas that Colonel Eaton, the General Superintendent of Freedmen there, has issued an order requiring that tuition-fees shall be paid for each scholar, ranging from twenty-five cents a month to one dollar and twenty-five cents, according to the parents' ability; that free admission shall be furnished only in case of inability of the parents. The money thus collected is to be used for the incidental expenses of the schools and the wages of the teachers; and Colonel Eaton believes that after a little time there will be sufficient for all purposes.

As to that wider effect of education which, as we said in the

outset, has been steadily kept in view by the Freedmen's Aid Societies, and, we may add, by the officers of the government, there can be no doubt as to the efficiency of freedom in teaching men how to be free. Of the government reports named at the head of this article, that of Colonel Eaton, of the Department of the Tennessee and State of Arkansas, for last year, is the most full, and treats of the most extensive system of superintendence. Under countless difficulties, in face of varying systems of administering abandoned plantations on the river, — with lessees of these plantations rushing in, wild to make their fortunes in a year, — with military operations perplexing and varying the new systems in various ways quite unforeseen, — he has had the oversight, more or less direct, of the interest of 770,000 slaves set free by the war. He is careful enough in his report to give us not so much his own observations as those of several different classes of observers. Almost all these observers confirm the remark which he makes in the following terms : —

“It is the testimony of nearly all planters, whether Southern or Northern, that they could not have expected any set of laborers to work better than theirs. They have, in some cases, returned to their work after being repeatedly driven away by guerillas, and when no white dared to go near. There are a few instances, where they have been furnished arms, of their repulsing these marauders. It is to be remarked, too, very creditably to the negro, that those who have cared most for the interest of their laborers have been rewarded by the greatest cheerfulness and the heartiest good-will. The sullenness of the old *régime* has disappeared. A wonderfully keen scent for the direction of their interests already characterizes this once stolid race. They have discovered an alacrity, a faithfulness, and an honor, not by any means to a degree that is to be hoped for, yet sufficient to compel the acknowledgment of those who declared that freedom would make this people nothing but thieving and licentious vagabonds.”

With regard to the charitable support needed for them, Colonel Eaton says distinctly : —

“Under the guardianship of this supervision, the freedmen are far less dependent upon charity than is supposed by the good people of the North. Where their rights are secured, necessaries furnished at reasonable prices, and they are directed to employment and sources of

gain, there is no doubt of the ability of the great majority to support themselves and educate their children. The new-comers require temporary assistance, and those helpless through age or misfortune are necessarily dependent; but these, by organization and prudent management, are already self-supporting. If a fair crop had been obtained this year, not only rations and labor could have been paid for by the Freedmen Department, but the needed hospitals, orphan asylums, schools, and clothing for the indigent could have been furnished without assistance. They are, therefore, in temporary need of help; and most urgently, in the building and furniture of hospitals and school-houses. In clothing, when that purchased by the funds of the Freedmen Department shall have reached the different parts of the State, as it has already Helena, it will be found that far more was called for and provided than was actually needed to make all comfortable. As has been intimated, the greatest charity is protection and guardianship; and if the government furnishes this, they will soon rise beyond the need of any. The more efficient, the more temporarily it will be required. The hands, from which the President's Proclamation has released them, are still clutching after them. Though the fury of the beast, which has had its appetite sharpened by a taste of blood, and been deprived of its prey, be subdued into cajolery and deceit, it still keeps its eye on its victim. A swift and strong arm only can restrain the passions of these diverse races and castes, until unity of interests shall be developed and respect for the law secured. The struggle for impartial freedom in the South would otherwise be long and violent. Only by this can the freed people be protected from the corruption and lawlessness of the worst of our armies, as well as the rapacity of speculators. A protection merely advisory would be emasculated and powerless. Civil agents, not empowered with military authority, would be absurd. In the condition of the South, and in the midst of armies, only military authority in friendly hands will avail."

The experience of all the agents agrees that the welfare of the negro is promoted, and the difficulties of the labor-market are solved, by assigning homesteads to the black men which they can cultivate for themselves, if they are not satisfied with the wages paid them by others. As always, landed property, however small in amount, proves to be a civilizer. The cotton crop on the Mississippi was last year almost a failure, such were the ravages of the "army-worm." About forty thousand acres of abandoned land were fully cultivated by a hundred and fifteen white lessees in the district of Tennessee and Ar-

kansas, including a part of Mississippi. Forty thousand bales of cotton were fully expected, but not more than eight thousand bales were made after the incursion of the army-worm. In the same valley fifty-six black men had small tracts of land. One of these made forty bales from eighty acres, — the best crop, in reality, made by white or black planter. Several of them sold their crops before the worm appeared, realizing various prices, from \$8,000 to \$4,000. Of the fifty-six black planters, those who cultivated ten-acre farms averaged a gain of \$500 each, besides their support, while the larger farmers obtained better returns in proportion to their land. The agent intrusted with the sale of the freedmen's cotton says, in general, that the balances paid to individuals, after the crop was sold, ranged from \$100 to \$ 2,000. This with a crop, it will be observed, not one fourth of the usual product.

The experience of the Sea Islands on the coast of Georgia and South Carolina is that of a body of negroes deserted by their masters, left to the chances of army occupation, who are now virtually a self-supporting community. Their purchases of manufactures, their sales of their own products, the arrangements of their churches and of their schools, show that any fear that a race of paupers was to be made by the liberation of the slave is in their case wholly idle.

Similar results appear in North Carolina. Here Captain James, formerly Chaplain James, has the oversight of freedmen's affairs. His report is a very valuable paper. In the midst of it is the new history of Roanoke Island, where Walter Raleigh and Ralph Lane began the history of the United States in 1584. The colony of Raleigh failed. Its end is one of the mysteries still. In 1863, General Foster assigned the island as a home for refugee blacks. It is by nature, perhaps, one of the most unpromising regions of the coast. The land is not rich enough for profitable farming, and the dependence of the people is upon such provisions as they may raise for their own use, upon their little gardens, upon possible success in the culture of grapes and other fruits, and upon neighboring fisheries. Homestead lots, therefore, of one acre each, were all that were assigned, — soldiers' wives, aged people, and invalids being the inhabitants. Such a forlorn crew as these have built 591 houses

on the lots assigned to them ; although, in a population of 3,091 living in these houses, 1,297 are children, and only 217 are men of the age for military duty, and many of them invalids. These houses, and the improvements on the lots, are estimated as worth seventy-five dollars each. "The whole, then," says Captain James, "of this village erected on abandoned land, may be estimated as now worth forty-four thousand dollars, — a sum which three years ago would have purchased all the improvements of two hundred years under the rule and culture of its white inhabitants."

We copy these statements because there is a peculiar interest attached to such first steps in a new social career. But to readers at the North, the question whether free negroes will work is not a question which excites much doubt. At New York, at Boston, at Newport, at Cincinnati, all through the Free States, indeed, most of us have had occasion to see that the negro knows how to work, knows how to make bargains for wages, and knows how to take care of his money. We have not observed any difference in these regards between the negro who has just freed himself by the simple process of running away, and the negro born among us, or the Celt or the Teuton who came to us from far. Demand and supply have taken care of the whole.

In the constant anxiety which we hear expressed to-day as to the effect of new arrangements at the South, and the probable need of police and supervision, we apprehend there is a general forgetfulness of the operation of the law of supply and demand under the *régime* of freedom. Freedom is not bread and butter, it is not comfort, it is not house and clothes, it is not a happy life, it is not a certain heaven. Some enthusiasts, seeing that the newly freed slaves do not yet possess these blessings, seem disturbed, as if freedom were not secure. But freedom is simply the way to get these blessings. It is the right of choice by which the freeman selects one or another course, which he thinks best adapted to secure them. That is what the proclamation of freedom secured. What if it proves, then, that the planter in Central Georgia cannot understand the new *status*, and will not make fair wages with his people? Freedom does not compel him to do so ; but it does enable his people to go

away. It is not far from Central Georgia to East Tennessee, where there is good chance of wages. It is not far from Central Georgia to Hilton Head. At Hilton Head there are good wages. Many a man and many a woman, when the Confederate army reigned supreme on the mainland of South Carolina and Georgia, made the perilous journey to freedom on foot and at night. It is much easier made now; or, if wages do not please at Hilton Head, women are earning a dollar a day in New England, and men are coming, too, with no questions asked as to color. Just what has been given to the black man is the freedom to go and find the place that pleases him. If the land-owner does not want to pay him what others pay, so much the worse for the land-owner. When has any combination of land-owners long kept free labor down?

In the adjustment of these relations there will of course be suffering. Where is there not suffering in this world? We have never said that the black man's life should be raised above suffering. We have said that he should be free to choose between inevitable hardships. This promise we perform.

The position of affairs has been such, that there has been, of course, but little opportunity to test the negro in the "town-meeting," in that administration of civil order which is a necessary part of his education, and not merely one of the results of it. Where there has been such opportunity, the results have not been generally unfavorable. At Roanoke, Captain James reports that his black councillors did not know enough for their duties, and the system of local government at their hands broke down. But on the island of St. Simon's, on the Georgia coast, the negroes, who are the only inhabitants, arranged their own system of civil order and maintain their own defence of it. At Davis's Bend, where were formerly the plantations of Jefferson Davis and of his brother, a system has been adopted for the government of the colony of blacks, in which they take a considerable part. The Bend is divided into districts, each of which has a sheriff and a judge appointed from the more reliable men. The shrewdness and intelligence of the colored judges are highly spoken of; their findings hardly ever err on the side of leniency.* A very satisfactory illustration of their recognition

* An illustration, which ought not to be lost from history, of what the domestic

of law and amenability to it, in Tennessee and Arkansas, is in the following passage in Colonel Eaton's Report : —

" A singular fact occurred in connection with the collection of the tax temporarily required by Order 63, on the wages of the able-bodied, for the support of the sick and otherwise dependent. It was thought, at first, that the negroes would submit to its collection with reluctance. Instead of this, however, being a tax on wages, it compelled the employer and employee to appear, one or both, before the officer charged with its collection, who allowed no wages to go unpaid ; and the negro soon saw in it his first recognition by government, and, although it appeared in the form of a burden, responded to it with alacrity, thousands finding in it the first assurance of any power protecting their right to make a bargain and hold the white man to its fulfilment. It was most interesting to watch the moral effect of taxing them. They freely acknowledged that they ought to assist in bearing the burden of the poor. They felt ennobled when they found that the government was calling upon them, as men, to assist in the process by which their natural rights were to be secured. Thousands thus saw, for the first time, any money reward for their services. The places where this tax was least rigidly collected are now farthest behind in paying the colored man for his services."

It will be understood, of course, that those cases where the negroes have themselves become civil or administrative officers have been, almost of necessity, those where they were gathered in settlements apart from the whites. General Grant set aside the Davis Bend for such a purpose, — a peninsula easily held against guerillas, of nine thousand acres. He was busy with the siege of Vicksburg, but he foresaw the future, and directed that, if possible, this place should " become a negro paradise." This is another of the compensations, involving pure poetical justice, of the war. Jefferson Davis's home a negro paradise, — Walter Raleigh's unsuccessful colony replaced by the

life was at Davis's Bend, appears in the following passage from Colonel Eaton's Report. It must be remembered that this is an official report to government of an officer writing under the highest responsibility. " Still further to illustrate the miserable corruption to which slavery exposed its victims, (and, for that matter, the oppressors too,) there was a colored woman at Davis's Bend, when our forces took possession of that place, afterward sent to Cincinnati, who can be proved, by the testimony of hundreds, to have been the kept mistress of Jefferson Davis ; and she is universally reputed to be the daughter of Joe Davis, the Rebel insurgent leader's brother."

successful negro plantation, — and Governor Wise's house occupied for a negro school! As Dr. Watts said, in the spirit of prophecy: —

“Vain are the hopes that Rebels place
Upon their Birth and Blood;
Descended from a pious race,
Their Fathers now with God.

He from the Caves of Earth and Hell
Can take the hardest Stones,
And fill the *house of Abraham* well
With new-created Sons.”

It is hardly necessary, in the examination of the four corner-stones of our new edifice, to inquire as to the willingness of the negro to enter into arrangements of church order. If he has the other privileges of a freeman, he will not be backward in his ecclesiastical relations. His religious expression is so extravagant, that it will undergo constant taming down as he advances in civilization, but it will be long before he is found indifferent to his religious rights or duties. The general testimony on this point accords with that of Mr. James.

“*The colored people will rise up and support their own preachers.* They are a religious people. On Sundays, arrayed in their best, they statedly frequent the sanctuary to sing, and praise, and pray. There is no lack of ministers among them. Their preparation to preach is small, but their fluency great, and their use of language remarkable. The St. Andrew's Methodist Church in New Berne has raised a thousand dollars for church purposes the past year. The colored people fear God, are free from profanity, and highly prize worship. Almost the only comfort they enjoyed under slavery was derived from this source.”

All their privileges, however, if they are to be admitted as citizens in a republic, depend on their ability to defend them. The musket in every house makes every man's house his castle. Because every man is a soldier in a republic, every man is a voter, and there is no tenable theory of universal suffrage which does not recognize the arming of every man in the defence of the state. One of the first amendments now necessary in our system is the universal omission of the word “white” in the clauses regulating the militia. The negro has shown in the war that he has the courage and intelligence

to fight, and, in future, we shall hear little more of cowardly murders of freedmen by their old masters' daughters, when it is known that in every cabin there is a fowling-piece or a rifle, to keep hawks or bears or other beasts of prey from the door.

In service with the army the blacks have been officered by whites. But there are sufficient instances to show that, for the simple warfare of self-defence, they are quite competent to their own arrangements. Colonel Higginson gives us the following interesting narrative.

"On St. Simon's Island, made famous by Mrs. Kemble's description, there were then five hundred colored people and not a single white." General Saxton sent there a company of Colonel Higginson's regiment.

"The black soldiers were sent down on the 'Ben De Ford,' Captain Hallett. On arriving, Captain Trowbridge was at once informed by Commodore Goldsborough, naval commander at that station, that there was a party of Rebel guerillas on the island, and was asked whether he would trust his soldiers in pursuit of them. Trowbridge gladly assented; and the Commodore added, 'If you should capture them, it will be a great thing for you.'

"They accordingly went on shore, and found that the colored men of the island had already undertaken the enterprise. Twenty-five of them had armed themselves, under the command of a man whose name, by a remarkable coincidence, was John Brown. The second in command was Edward Gould, who was afterwards a corporal in Company E of my own regiment. The Rebel party retreated before these men, and drew them into a swamp. There was but one path, and the negroes entered single file. The Rebels lay behind a great log, and fired upon them. John Brown, the leader, fell dead within six feet of the log; several others were wounded, and the band of raw recruits retreated; as did also the Rebels, in the opposite direction. This was the first armed encounter, so far as I know, between the Rebels and their former slaves; and it is worth noticing, that the attempt was a spontaneous thing, and not accompanied by any white man. The men were not soldiers, nor in uniform, though some of them afterwards enlisted in Trowbridge's company.

"The father of this John Brown was afterwards a soldier in my regiment; and, after his discharge for old age, was, for a time, my servant. 'Uncle York,' as we called him, was as good a specimen of a saint as I have ever met, and was quite the equal of Mrs. Stowe's 'Uncle Tom.' He was a fine-looking old man, with dignified and

courtly manners; and his gray head was a perfect benediction, as he sat with us on the platform at our Sunday meetings. He fully believes, to this day, that the 'John Brown Song,' which all the soldiers sing, relates to his son, and to him only."

The people at Davis's Bend are under military organization for their own defence. Rev. Mr. Zachos held his own island in the Port Royal group with the military force which he himself raised and disciplined among the Freedmen. And these are only instances of what has been done everywhere under similar circumstances. Under General Butler's order No. 46, celebrated for its wisdom and foresight among the students of these matters, a number of freedmen were planted in the neighborhood of Norfolk. Their "loyal" white neighbors were notified that, if the black men's pig-sties or hen-roosts were molested, the black men had the means, right, and permission to defend themselves. Perfect good behavior on both sides followed of course.

Our space only permits this brief sketch of a few of the results already attained, in a period of war and of great attendant confusion and difficulty, in the work, for which a century would seem small, of levelling up a race of slaves into the position of self-governing freemen. The results are indeed extraordinary. They are full of encouragement. They all show conclusively that the best way to educate a man for freedom is to make him free. Such results have been obtained without one hateful outbreak of license in the midst of new-found liberty. The schools and the churches, even the military arm and the civil establishment, all testify of the steady and rapid improvement in the intelligence, good order, seriousness, and steadiness of bearing of men and women who at the very first showed vastly more of these qualities than even their best friends had claimed for them. This is more than the most sanguine would have hoped at the beginning.

In this work of civilization, it is gratifying to say that, first of all, the national government has distinguished itself in the magnitude of its contributions, in the steadiness and zeal of its higher officers and the agents appointed by them, and in its ready encouragement given to the charitable societies who have taken special interest in the education of the negro. The sa-

gacity and true benevolence of the general orders issued by General Butler, by Generals Hunter and Saxton, by General Banks, and by General Thomas, who have had, perhaps, most to do with the practical features of this problem, will always be recognized by the student of the improvement of the black race. The Secretaries of War and of the Treasury have never failed to render the hearty assistance of their departments in enterprises so hard and difficult. And at last the appointment of General Oliver O. Howard to the head of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the wisdom and energy of his initial arrangements, give the happiest promise for the future.

Second to this, the steady work of the societies which we have named, and of other organizations, especially the Western Sanitary Commission, which have rendered efficient help, has been, on the whole, wise, has been always in the best spirit, and, as we think is here shown, has had wonderful results. The larger societies have contributed in the last year the following sums to the purpose they have in hand:—

Western Freedmen's Association	. . . . .	\$ 36,225
National “	“	229,587
Northwestern “	“	116,166
Pennsylvania “	“	26,226
New England “	“	44,828
American Missionary Society, (perhaps)	. . . . .	100,000
		<hr/>
		\$ 553,032

This total of more than half a million has, as we have shown, discharged a work about one twentieth of that which should be at once undertaken, in the way of schools. But for that work, large assistance, as we have said, will be received in the States themselves where it is to be done, from the people who are the subjects of endeavor. As the government withdraws the army, and as teachers go to posts where there are no garrisons, the assistance given in rations and quarters heretofore can no longer be expected. But this loss will be compensated by the advantages to be acquired in a more calm state of civil order. The employment of Southern teachers is recommended by the best judges, in all cases where competent persons, of either color, can be engaged. We believe this to

be a good policy, and that it will largely contribute to the favor with which the schools will be regarded at the South.

Side by side with the education of the children, we look for extensive adult schools, and for that wider education which comes where men are trained to arms and to vote. Given also the improving institutions of religion for the negro, we believe we see in all these omens the certain prosperity of his future state.

For the superintendence of such enterprises, for their consolidation and best order, we believe the government of the nation has taken the best steps in the organization of the Freedmen's Bureau. We take it for granted, that General Howard will send in to the War Department, for the advice of Congress, his estimates for the expenses of that Bureau, when the next session begins. We trust that these expenses will be estimated on a generous scale, and that, till the State governments are thoroughly established, and established on a truly republican basis, the government of the nation will keep its watch and ward on its new-made citizens. Congress, we are sure, will be disposed to vote the largest sums asked for, for the expenses of such watch and ward, including such work as the Bureau is willing to undertake in the line of education. For the details of that work, under the supervision of the Freedmen's Bureau, it is probable that the Freedmen's Aid Societies may still have to provide. We have shown already that it is not an incalculable work, or an alarming one. The New England Society has already appealed to the freedmen to assume the charges of quarters and rations for teachers, which the nation heretofore has borne. In the Western Department, as we have seen, Colonel Eaton has called on them for a money contribution, which they have largely paid. For the rest the liberality of the North must provide. Half a million dollars in New England, as much more in New York, as much more in the Middle States, including Ohio, and half as much in the Northwest, will make up a sum sufficient for the complete carrying out of a system of elementary education of all the blacks in the whole South. We have no fears but it can be collected and wisely used.